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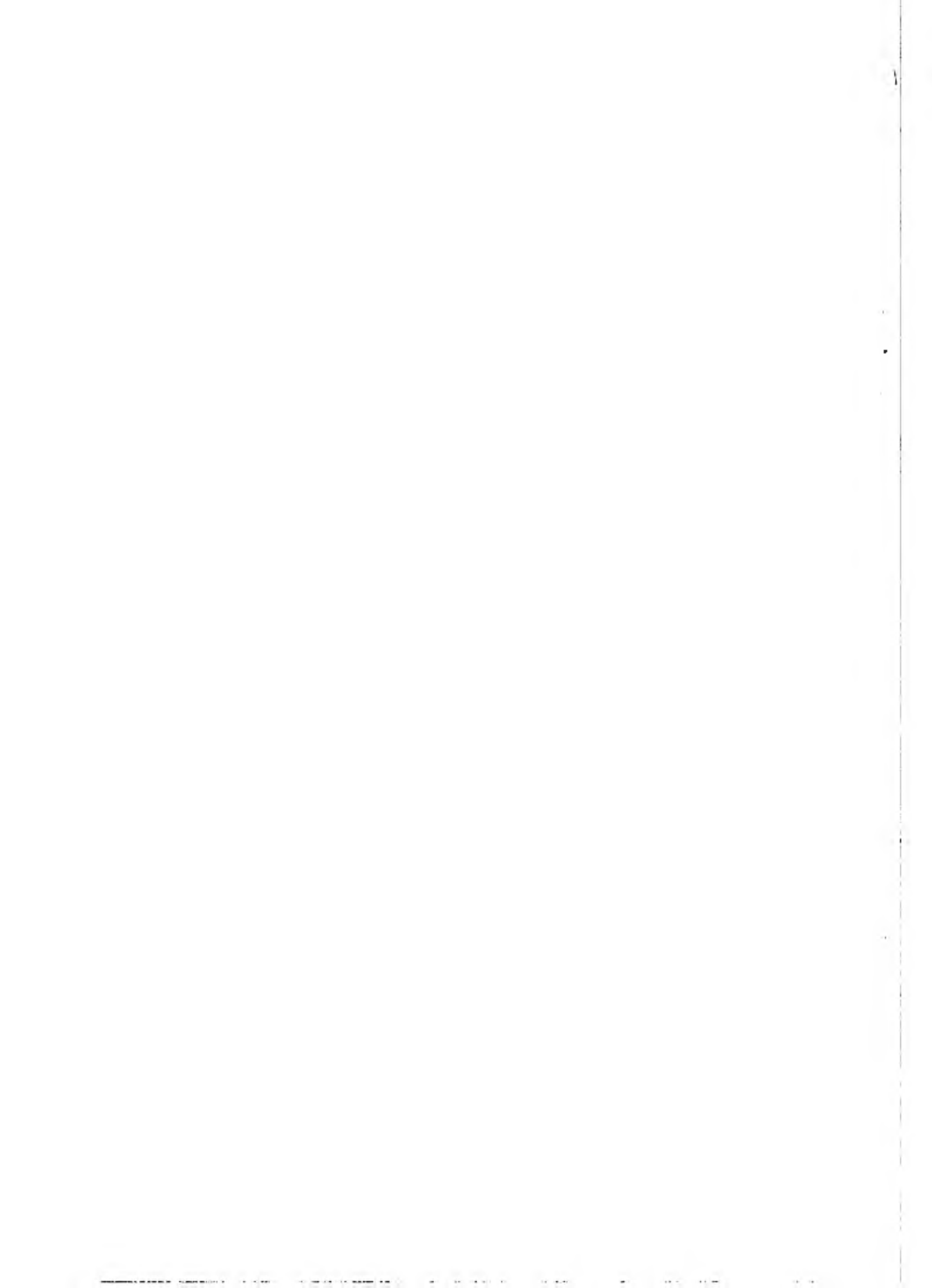
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AN ESSAY

TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE

PEACE OF EUROPE

BY WILLIAM PENN.

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AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE
OF EUROPE, BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EUROPEAN
DYET, PARLIAMENT, OR ESTATES.

Beati Pacifici. Cedant arma togae.

TO THE READER :

I have undertaken a Subject that I am very sensible requires one of more sufficiency than I am Master of to treat it, as, in Truth, it deserves, and the groaning State of Europe calls for; but since Bunglers may Stumble upon the Game, as well as Masters, though it belongs to the Skilful to hunt and catch it, I hope this Essay will not be charged upon me for a Fault, if it appear to be neither Chimerical nor Injurious, and may provoke abler Pens to improve and perform the Design with better Judgment and Success. I will say no more in Excuse of myself, for this Undertaking, but that it is the Fruit of my solicitous Thoughts, for the Peace of Europe, and they must want Charity as much as the world needs Quiet, to be offended with me for so Pacifick a Proposal. Let them censure my Management, so they prosecute the Advantage of the Design; for'till the Millenary Doctrine be accomplished, there is nothing appears to me so beneficial an Expedient to the Peace and Happiness of this Quarter of the World.

AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE OF
EUROPE, &C.

SECT. I. *Of Peace, and its Advantages.*

He must not be a Man but a Statue of Brass or Stone, whose Bowels do not melt when he beholds the bloody Tragedies of this War, in Hungary, Germany, Flanders, Ireland, and at Sea: The Mortality of sickly and languishing Camps and Navies, and the mighty prey the Devouring Winds and Waves have made upon Ships and

Men since 88. And as this with Reason ought to affect human Nature, and deeply Kindred, so there is something very moving that becomes prudent Men to consider, and that is the vast Charge that has accompanied that Blood, and which makes no mean Part of these *Tragedies*; Especially if they deliberate upon the uncertainty of the War, that they know not how or when it will end, and that the Expense cannot be less, and the Hazard is as great as before. So that in the Contraries of Peace we see the Beauties and Benefits of it; which under it, such is the Unhappiness of Mankind, we are too apt to nauseate, as the full Stomach loaths the Honey-Comb; and like that unfortunate Gentleman, that having a fine and a good Woman to his Wife, and searching his Pleasure in forbidden and less agreeable Company, said, when reproach'd with his Neglect of better Enjoyments, *That he could love his Wife of all Women, if she were not his Wife*, tho' that increased his Obligation to prefer her. It is a great Mark of the Corruption of our Natures, and what ought to humble us extremely, and excite the Exercise of our Reason to a nobler and juster Sense, that we cannot see the Use and Pleasure of our Comforts but by the Want of them. As if we could not taste the Benefit of Health, but by the Help of Sickness; nor understand the Satisfaction of Fulness without the Instruction of Want; nor, finally, know the Comfort of Peace, but by the Smart and Penance of the Vices of War: And without Dispute that is not the least Reason that God is pleased to Chastise us so frequently with it. What can we desire better than *Peace*, but the *Grace* to use it? *Peace* preserves our Possessions; We are in no Danger of Invasions: Our Trade is free and Safe, and we rise and lye down without Anxiety. The Rich bring out their Hoards, and employ the poor Manufacturers; Buildings and divers Projections, for Profit and Pleasure, go on: It excites Industry, which brings Wealth, as that gives the Means of Charity and Hospitality, not the lowest ornaments of a Kingdom or Commonwealth. But War, like the Frost of 83, seizes all these Comforts at once, and stops the civil Channel of Society. The Rich draw in their Stock, the Poor turn Soldiers, or Thieves, or

starve: No Industry, no Building, no Manufactory, little Hospitality or Charity; but what the Peace gave, the War devours. I need say no more upon this Head, when the Advantages of Peace, and Mischiefs of War, are so many and sensible to every Capacity under all Governments, as either of them prevails. I shall proceed to the next Point. *What is the best Means of Peace; which will conduce much to open my Way to what I have to propose.*

SECT. II. *Of the Means of Peace, which is Justice rather than War.*

As *Justice* is a Preserver, so it is a better Procurer of Peace than War. Tho' *Pax quaeritur bello* be an usual Saying, *Peace is the end of War*, and as such it was taken up by O. C. for his Motto; Yet the Use generally made of that expression shews us, that properly and truly speaking, Men seek their Wills by War rather than Peace, and that as they will violate it to obtain them, so they will hardly be brought to think of Peace, unless their Appetites be some Way gratified. If we look over the Stories of all Times, we shall find the Aggressors generally moved by Ambition; the Pride of Conquest and Greatness of Dominion more than Right. But as those *Leviathans* appear rarely in the World, so I shall anon endeavor to make it evident they had never been able to devour the Peace of the World, and ingross whole Countries as they have done, if the *Proposal* I have to make for the Benefit of our present Age had been then in Practice. The Advantage that Justice has upon War is seen by the Success of *Embassies*, that so often prevent War by hearing the *Pleas* and *Memorials* of *Justice* in the Hands and Mouths of the *Wronged Party*. Perhaps it may be in a good Degree owing to *Reputation* or *Poverty*, or some Particular *Interest* or *Conveniency* of *Princes* and *States*, as much as *Justice*; but it is certain, that as War cannot in any Sense be justified, but upon Wrongs received, and Right, upon Complaint, refused; So the Generality of Wars have their Rise from some such Pretension. This is better seen and understood at Home; for that which prevents a Civil War in a Nation, is that which

may prevent it Abroad, viz: *Justice*; and we see where that is notably obstructed, War is kindled between the *Magistrates* and *People* in particular Kingdoms and States; which, however it may be unlawful on the side of the *People*, we see never fails to follow, and ought to give the same Caution to Princes, as if it were the Right of the *People* to do it: Tho' I must needs say, *the Remedy is almost ever worse than the Disease*: The Aggressors seldom getting what they seek, or performing, if they prevail, what they promised: And the *Blood and Poverty* that usually attend the Enterprise, weigh more on Earth, as well as in Heaven, than what they lost or suffered, or what they get by endeavoring to mend their *Condition*, comes to: Which *Disappointment* seems to be the Voice of Heaven, and Judgment of God against those violent Attempts. But to return, I say, *Justice is the Means of Peace*, betwixt the *Government* and the *People*, and one *Man and Company* and another. It prevents *Strife*, and at last ends it: For besides *Shame* or *Fear*, to contend longer, he or they being under *Government*, are constrained to bound their *Desires* and *Resentment* with the *Satisfaction* the Law gives. Thus *Peace* is maintained by *Justice*, which is a Fruit of *Government*, as *Government* is from *Society*, and *Society* from *Consent*.

SECT. III. *Government, its Rise and End under all Models.*

Government is an Expedient against *Confusion*; a Restraint upon all *Disorder*; Just Weights and an even Balance: That one may not injure another, nor himself, by *Intemperance*.

This was at first without *Controversie*, *Patrimonial*, and upon the Death of the Father or Head of the Family, the eldest Son or Male of Kin succeeded. But Time breaking in upon this Way of Governing, as the World multiply'd, it fell under other *Claims* and *Forms*; and is as hard to trace to its Original, as are the Copies we have of the first Writings of *Sacred* or *Civil* Matters. It is certain the most Natural and Human is that of *Consent*, for that binds freely, (as I may say) when Men hold their

Liberty by true *Obedience* to Rules of their own making. No Man is Judge in his own Cause, which ends the *Confusion* and *Blood* of so many *Judges* and *Executioners*. For out of *Society* every Man is his own *King*, does what he lists at his own Peril: But when he comes to incorporate himself, he submits that *Royalty* to the *Conveniency* of the *Whole*, from whom he receives the Returns of *Protection*. So that he is not now his own Judge nor *Avenge*r, neither is his *Antagonist*, but the *Law*, in indifferent Hands between both. And if he be Servant to others that before was free, he is also served of others that formerly owed him no *Obligation*. Thus while we are not our own, every Body is ours, and we get more than we lose, the Safety of the *Society* being the Safety of the *Particulars* that constitute it. So that while we seem to submit to, and hold all we have from *Society*, it is by *Society* that we keep what we have.

Government then is the *Prevention* or *Cure* of *Disorder*, and the Means of *Justice*, as that is of *Peace*: For this Cause they have *Sessions*, *Terms*, *Assizes*, and *Parliaments*, to overrule Men's *Passions* and *Resentments*, that they may not be *Judges* in their own Cause, nor *Punishers* of their own *Wrongs*, which, as it is very incident to *Men* in their *Corrupt State*, so, for that Reason, they would observe no Measure; nor on the other Hand would any be easily reduced to their Duty. Not that Men know not what is right, their Excesses, and wherein they are to blame, by no Means; nothing is plainer to them: But so depraved is Human Nature, that without Compulsion some Way or other, too many would not readily be brought to do what they know is right and fit, or avoid what they are satisfy'd they should not do: Which brings me near to the Point I have undertaken; and for the better Understanding of which, I have thus briefly treated of *Peace*, *Justice*, and *Government*, as a necessary *Introduction*, because the Ways and Methods by which *Peace* is preserved in particular *Governments*, will help those *Readers* most concerned in my *Proposal* to conceive with what Ease as well as advantage the Peace of *Europe* might be procured and Kept; which is the End designed by me, with all Submission to those Interested in this little *Treatise*.

SECT. IV. *Of a General Peace, or the Peace of Europe, and the Means of it.*

In my first Section, I showed the *Desirableness of Peace*; in my next, the *Truest Means of it*; to wit, *Justice not War*. And in my last, that this Justice was the *Fruit of Government*, as Government itself was the *Result of Society* which first came from a *Reasonable Design in Men of Peace*. Now if the *Sovereign Princes of Europe*, who represent that Society, or Independent State of Men that was previous to the Obligations of Society, would; for the same Reason that engaged Men first into Society, viz: *Love of Peace and Order*, agree to meet by their Stated Deputies in a *General Dyet, Estates, or Parliament*, and there Establish Rules of Justice for Sovereign Princes to observe one to another; and thus to meet Yearly, or once in Two or Three Years at farthest, or as they shall see Cause, and to be stiled, *The Sovereign or Imperial Dyet, Parliament, or State of Europe*; before which Sovereign Assembly, should be brought all Differences depending between one Sovereign and another, that can not be made up by private Embassies, before the Sessions begin; and that if any of the Sovereignties that Constitute these Imperial States, shall refuse to submit their Claim or Pretensions to them, or to abide and perform the Judgment thereof, and seek their Remedy by Arms, or delay their Compliance beyond the Time prefixed in their Resolutions, all the other Sovereignties, United as One Strength, shall compel the Submission and Performance of the Sentence, with Damages to the Suffering Party, and Charges to the Sovereignties that obliged their Submission. To be sure, *Europe* would quietly obtain the so much desired and needed Peace, to *Her harassed Inhabitants*; no Sovereignty in *Europe* having the Power and therefore can not show the Will to dispute the Conclusion; and, consequently, *Peace* would be procured, and continued in *Europe*.

SECT. V. *Of the Causes of Difference, and Motives to Violate Peace.*

There appears to me but Three Things upon which Peace is broken, Viz: To *Keep*, to *Recover*, or to *Add*.

First, to Keep what is Ones Right, from the Invasion of an Enemy; in which I am purely *Defensive*. *Secondly*, To Recover, when I think myself Strong enough, that which by Violence, I, or my Ancestors have lost by the Arms of a Stronger Power; in which I am *Offensive*; Or, *Lastly*, To increase my Dominion by the Acquisition of my Neighbour's Countries, as I find them Weak, and myself Strong. To gratify which Passion, there will never want some Accident or other for a Pretense: And Knowing my own Strength, I will be my own *Judge and Carver*. This *Last* will find no Room in the *Imperial States*: They are an unpassable Limit to that Ambition. But the other *Two* may come as soon as they please, and find the Justice of the Sovereign Court. And considering how few there are of those *Sons of Prey*, and how early they show themselves, it may be not once in an Age or Two, this Expedition being established, the Ballance can not well be broken.

SECT. VI. *Of Titles, upon which those Differences may arise.*

But I easily foresee a Question that may be answered in our Way, and that is this; *What is Right?* Or else we can never know what is Wrong: It is very fit that this should be *Established*. But that is fitter for the Sovereign States to resolve than me. And yet that I may lead a Way to the Matter, I say that Title is either by a long and *undoubted Succession*, as the Crowns of *Spain, France, and England*; or by *Election*, as the Crown of *Poland*, and the *Empire*; or by *Marriage*, as the Family of the *Stewarts* came by *England*; the *Electer of Brandenburg*, to the *Dutchy of Cleve*; and we, in Ancient Time, to divers Places abroad; or by Purchase, as hath been frequently done in *Italy* and *Germany*; or by Conquest, as the *Turk* in *Christendom*, the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, formerly mostly in the *French Hands* and the *French* in *Burgundy, Normandy, Lorrain, French-County, &c.* This last Title is, Morally Speaking, only Questionable. It has indeed obtained a Place among the Rolls of Titles, but it was engross'd and recorded by the Point of the sword, and in Bloody Characters. What can not be con-

trouled or resisted, must be submitted to; but all the World knows the Date of the length of such Empires, and that they expire with the Power of the Possessor to defend them. And yet there is a little allowed to Conquest too, when it has the Sanction of Articles of Peace to confirm it: Tho' that hath not always extinguished the Fire, but it lies, like Embers and Ashes, ready to Kindle so soon as there is fit Matter prepared for it. Nevertheless, when Conquest has been confirmed by a Treaty, and Conclusion of Peace, I must confess it is an Adopted Title; and if not so Genuine and Natural, yet being engrafted, it is fed by that which is the Security of *Better Titles, Consent*. There is but one Thing more to be mentioned in this Section, and that is from what Time Titles shall take their Beginning, or how far back we may look to confirm or dispute them. It would be very bold and inexcusable in me, to determine so tender a Point, but be it more or less Time, as to the last General Peace at *Nimeguen*, or to the commencing of this War, or to the Time of the Beginning of the Treaty of Peace, I must submit it to the Great Pretenders and Masters in that Affair. But something every Body must be willing to give or quit, that he may keep the rest, and by this Establishment be forever freed of the Necessity of losing more.

SECT. VII. *Of the Composition of these Imperial States.*

The Composition and Proportion of this *Sovereign Part, or Imperial State*, does, at the first Look, seem to carry with it no small Difficulty what votes to allow for the Inequality of the Princes and States. But with Submission to better Judgments, I can not think it invincible; For if it be possible to have an Estimate of the Yearly Value of the several Sovereign Countries, whose Delegates are to make up this August Assembly, The Determination of the Number of Persons or Votes in the States for every Sovereignty will not be impracticable. Now that *England, France, Spain, the Empire, &c.*, may be pretty exactly estimated, is so plain a Case, by considering the Revenue of Lands, the Exports and Entries at the Custom Houses, the Books of Rates, and Surveys that are in all Governments, to proportion Taxes for the Support of

them, that the least Inclination to the *Peace of Europe* will not stand or halt at this Objection. I will, with Pardon on all Sides give an Instance far from Exact; nor do I pretend to it, or offer it for an Estimate; for I do it at Random: Only this, as wide as it is from the Just Proportion, will give some Aim to my *Judicious Reader*, what I would be at: Remembering, I design not by any Computation, an Estimate from the Revenue of the Prince, but the Value of the Territory, the Whole being concerned as well as the Prince. And a Juster Measure it is to go by, since one Prince may have more Revenue than another, who has much a Richer Country: Tho' in the Instance I am now about to make, the Caution is not so necessary, because, as I said before, I pretend to no Manner of Exactness, but go wholly by Guess, being but for Example's Sake. I suppose the *Empire of Germany* to send Twelve; *France*, Ten; *Spain*, Ten; *Italy*, which comes to *France*, Eight; *England*, Six; *Portugal*, Three; *Sweedland*, Four; *Denmark*, Threc; *Poland*, Four; *Venice*, Three; the *Seven Provinces*, Four; *The Thirteen Cantons*, and little *Neighbouring Sovereignities*, Two; *Dukedoms of Holstein and Courland*, One: And if the *Turks* and *Muscovites* are taken in, as seems but fit and just, they will make *Ten apiece more*. The *Whole* makes Ninety. A great Presence when they represent the *Fourth*, and now *The Best and Wealthiest Part of the Known World*; where *Religion and Learning, Civility and Arts have their Seat and Empire*. But it is not absolutely necessary there should be always so many Persons, to represent the larger Sovereignities; for the Votes may be given by one Man of any Sovereignty, as well as by Ten or Twelve: Tho' the fuller the Assembly of States is, the more Solemn, Effectual, and Free the Debates will be, and the Resolutions must needs come with greater Authority. The Place of their First Session should be Central, as much as is possible, afterwards as they agree.

SECT. VIII. *Of the Regulations of the Imperial Siutes in Session.*

To avoid Quarrel for Precedency, the Room may be

Round, and have divers Doors to come in and go out at, to prevent Exceptions. If the whole Number be cast in Tens, each chusing One, they may preside by Turns, to whom all Speeches should be addressed, and who should collect the Sense of the Debates, and state the Question for a Vote, which, in my Opinion, should be by the *Ballot* after the Prudent and Commendable Method of the *Venetians*: Which, in a great Degree, prevents the ill Effects of Corruption; because if any of the Delegates of that High and Mighty Estates could be so Vile. False, and Dishonorable, as to be influenced by Money, they have the Advantage of taking their Money that will give it them and of Voting undiscovered to the Interest of their Principles, and their own Inclinations; as they that do understand the *Balloting Box* do very well know. A Shrewd Stratagem and an Experimental Remedy against *Corruption*, at least *Corrupting*: For who will give their Money where they may so easily be Cozened, and where it is Two to One they will be so; for they that will take Money in such Cases, will not stick to Lye heartily to them that give it, rather than wrong their Country, when they know their Lye can not be detected.

It seems to me, that nothing in this *Imperial Parliament* should pass, but by Three Quarters of the Whole, at least Seven above the Ballance. I am sure it helps to prevent Treachery, because if Money could ever be a Temptation in such a Court, it would cost a great Deal of Money to weigh down the wrong Scale. All Complaints should be delivered in Writing in the Nature of *Memorials* and *Journals* kept by a proper Person, in a *Trunk* or *Chest*, which should have as many differing Locks, as there are Tens in the States. And if there were a *Clerk* for each *Ten*, and a *Pew* or *Table* for those *Clerks* in the *Assembly*; and at the End of Every Session One out of each *Ten* were appointed to Examine and Compare the *Journal* of those *Clerks*, and then lock them up as I have before expressed, it would be clear and Satisfactory. And each Sovereignty if they please, as is but very fit, may have an *Exemplification*, or *Copy* of the said *Memorials*, and the *Journal* of *Proceedings* upon them. The *Liberty* and *Rules* of *Speech*, to be sure, they can not fai

in, who will be *Wisest* and *Noblest* of each Sovereignty, for its own Honour and Safety. If any Difference can arise between those that come from the same Sovereignty that then One of the Major Number do give the Balls of that Sovereignty. I should think it extremely necessary, that every Sovereignty should be present under great Penalties, and that none leave the Session without Leave, till *All* be finished; and that Neutralities in Debates should by no Means be endured: For any such Latitude will quickly open a Way to unfair Proceedings, and be followed by a Train, both of seen, and unseen Inconveniences. I will say little of the *Language* in which the *Session of the Sovereign Estates should be held*, but to be sure it must be in *Latin* or *French*; the first would be very well for Civilians, but the last most easie for Men of Quality.

SECT. IX. *Of the Objections that may be advanced against the Design.*

I will first give an Answer to the Objections that may be offered against my *Proposal*: And in my next and last Section, I shall endeavour to shew some of the manifold Conveniences that would follow this *European League*, or *Confederacy*.

The first of them is this, *That the strongest and Richest Sovereignty will never agree to it, and if it should, there would be Danger of Corruption more than of Force one Time or other.* I answer to the first Part, he is not stronger than all the rest, and for that Reason you should promote this, and compel him into it; especially before he be so, for then, it will be too late to deal with such an one. To the last Part of the Objection, I say the Way is as open now as then; and it may be the Number fewer, and as easily come at. However, if Men of Sense and Honour, and Substance, are chosen, they will either scorn the Baseness, or have wherewith to pay for the Knavery: At least they may be watch't so, that one may be a check upon the other, and all prudently limited by the Sovereignty they Represent. In all great Points, especially before a final Resolve, they may be obliged to transmit to their Principles, the Merits of such important

Cases depending, and receive their last Instructions: which may be done in four and Twenty Days at the most, as the Place of their Session may be appointed.

The Second is, *That it will endanger an Effeminacy by such a Disuse of the Trade of Soldiery; That if there should be any Need for it, upon any Occasion, we should be at a Loss as they were in Holland in 72.*

There can be no Danger of Effeminacy, because each Sovereignty may introduce as temperate or Severe a Discipline in the Education of Youth, as they please, by low Living, and due Labour. Instruct them in Mechanical Knowledge, and in Natural Philosophy, by Operation, which is the Honour of the *German Nobility*. This would make them Men: Neither *Women* nor *Lyons*: For *Soldiers* are t'other Extream to Effeminacy. But the Knowledge of Nature, and the useful as well as agreeable Operations of Art, give Men an Understanding of themselves, of the World they are born into, how to be useful and serviceable, both to themselves and others: and how to save and help, not injure or destroy. The Knowledge of Government in General; the particular Constitutions of *Europe*; and above all of his own Country, are very recommending Accomplishments. This fits him for the *Parliament*, and *Council at Home*, and the *Courts of Princes and Services in the Imperial States abroad*. At least, he is a good Common-Wealths-Man, and can be useful to the Publick, or retire, as there may be Occasion.

To the other Part of the Objection, *of being at a loss for Soldiery as they were in Holland in 72.* The Proposal answers for it itself. One has War no more than the other; and will be as much to seek upon Occasion. Nor is it to be thought that any one will keep up such an Army after such an *Empire* is on Foot, which may hazard the Safety of the rest. However, if it be seen requisit, the Question may be askt, by Order of the Sovereign States, why such an one either raises or keeps up a formidable Body of Troops, and he obliged forthwith to reform or Reduce them; lest any one, by keeping up a great Body of Troops, should surprize a Neighbour. But a small Force in every other Sovereignty, as it is

capable or accustomed to maintain, will certainly prevent that Danger, and Vanquish any such Fear.

The Third Objection is, *That there will be great Want of Employment for younger Brothers of Families; and that the Poor must either turn Soldiers or Thieves.* I have answer'd that in my Return to the Second Objection. We shall have the more *Merchants and Husbandmen, or Ingenious Naturalists*, if the Government be but any Thing Solicitous of the *Education of their Youth*: Which, next to the present and immediate Happiness of any Country, ought of all Things to be the *Care and Skill* of the Government. For such as the Youth of any Country is bred, such is the next Generation, and the Government in good or bad Hands.

I am come now to the last Objection, *That Sovereign Princes and States will hereby become not Sovereign: a Thing they will never endure.* But this also, under Correction, is a Mistake, for they remain as Sovereign at Home as ever they were. Neither their Power over their People, nor the usual Revenue they pay them, is diminished: It may be the War Establishment may be reduced, which will indeed of Course follow, or be better employed to the Advantage of the Publick. So that the *Sovereignities* are as they were, for none of them have now any Sovereignty over one another: And if this be called a lessening of their Power, it must be only because the great Fish can no longer eat up the little ones, and that each Sovereignty is *equally defended* from Injuries, and disabled from committing them: *Cedant Arma Togæ* is a Glorious Sentence; the *Voice of the Dove; the Olive Branch of Peace.* A Blessing so great, that when it pleases God to chastise us severely for our Sins, it is with the *Rod of War* that, for the most Part, he whips us: And Experience tells us none leaves deeper Marks behind it.

SECT. X. *Of the real Benefits that flow from this Proposal about Peace.*

I am come to my last Section, in which I shall enumerate some of those many *real Benefits* that flow from this Proposal, for the Present and Future Peace of *Europe.*

Let it not, I pray, be the least, that it prevents the Spilling of so much *Humane and Christian Blood*: For a Thing so offensive to God, and terrible and afflicting to Men, as that has ever been, must recommend our Expedient beyond all Objections. For what can a Man give in Exchange for his Life, as well as Soul? And tho' the chiefest in Government are seldom personally exposed, yet it is a Duty incumbent upon them to be tender of the Lives of their People; since without all Doubt, they are accountable to God for the Blood that is spilt in their Service. So that besides the Loss of so many Lives, of importance to any Government, both for Labour and Propagation, the Cries of so many Widows, Parents and Fatherless are prevented, that cannot be very pleasant in the Ears of any Government, and is the *Natural Consequence of War in all Government*.

There is another *manifest Benefit* which redounds to *Christendom*, by this *Peaceable Expedient*, *The Reputation of Christianity will in some Degree be recovered in the Sight of Infidels*; which, by the many Bloody and unjust Wars of Christians, not only with them, but one with another, hath been greatly impaired. For, to the Scandal of that Holy Profession, *Christians*, that glory in their *Saviour's Name*, have long devoted the Credit and Dignity of it to their worldly Passions, as often as they have been excited by the Impulses of Ambition or Revenge. They have not always been in the Right: Nor has Right been the Reason of War: And not only Christians against Christians, but the same Sort of Christians have embrewed their Hands in one another's Blood: Invoking and Interesting, all they could, the Good and Merciful God to prosper their Arms to their Brethren's Destruction: Yet their Saviour has told them, *that he came to save, and not to destroy the Lives of Men*: To give and plant Peace among Men: And if in any Sense he may be said to send War, it is the *Holy War* indeed; for it is to send against the Devil, and not the Persons of Men. Of all his Titles this seems the most Glorious as well as comfortable for us, that he is the *Prince of Peace*. It is his Nature, his Office, his Work, and the End, and excellent Blessings of his Coming, who is both the Maker and Preserver of

our *Peace* with God. And it is very remarkable, that in all the *New Testament* he is but once called *Lyon*, but frequently the *Lamb of God*; to denote to us his *Gentle*, *Meek*, and *Harmless Nature*; and that those who desire to be the *Disciples* of his *Cross and Kingdom*, for they are *inseparable*, must be like him, as *St. Paul*, *St. Peter*, and *St. John*, tell us. Nor is it said the *Lamb* shall lye down with the *Lyon*, but the *Lyon* shall lye down with the *Lamb*. That is *War* shall yield to *Peace*, and the *Soldier* turn *Hermite*. To be sure, *Christians* should not be apt to strive, not *swift* to *Anger* against any *Body*, and less with one another, and least of all for the uncertain and fading *Enjoyments* of this *Lower World*: And no *Quality* is exempted from this *Doctrine*. Here is a wide *Field* for the *Reverend Clergy* of *Europe* to act their *Part* in, who have so much the *Possession* of *Princes* and *People* too. May they recommend and labour this *pacifick Means* I offer, which will end *Blood*, if not *Strife*; and then *Reason*, upon free *Debate*, will be *Judge*, and not the *Sword*. So that both *Right* and *Peace*, which are the *Desire* and *Fruit* of wise *Governments*, and the choice *Blessings* of any *Country*, seem to succeed the *Establisment* of this *Proposal*.

The third *Benefit* is, that it saves *Money*, both to the *Prince* and *People*; and thereby prevents those *Grudgings* and *Misunderstandings* between them that are wont to follow the devouring *Expences* of *War*; and enables both to perform *Publick Acts* for *Learning*, *Charity*, *Manufactures*, etc. The *Virtues* of *Government* and *Ornaments* of *Countries*. Nor is this all the *Advantage* that follows to *Soveraignties*, upon this *Head* of *Money* and good *Husbandry*, to whose *Service* and *Happiness* this short *Discourse* is dedicated; for it saves the great *Expence* that frequent and splendid *Embassies* require, and all their *Appendages* of *Spies and Intelligence*, which in the most prudent *Governments*, have devoured mighty *Sums of Money*; and that not without some *immoral Practices* also: Such as *Corrupting of Servants* to betray their *Masters*, by revealing their *Secrets*; not to be defended by *Christian* or *Old Roman Virtues*. But here, where there is nothing to fear, there is little to know, and there-

fore the *Purchase* is either *cheap*, or may be wholly *spared*. I might mention *Pensions* to the *Widows* and *Orphans* of such as dye in Wars, and of those that have been *disabled* in them; which rise high in the Revenue of some Countries.

Our fourth Advantage is, that the *Towns, Cities and Countries, that might be laid waste by the Rage of War, are thereby preserved*: A Blessing that would be very well understood in *Flanders* and *Hungary*, and indeed upon all the *Borders of Sovereignities*, which are almost ever the *Stages of Spoil and Misery*; of which the Stories of *England* and *Scotland* do sufficiently inform us without looking over the *Water*.

The fifth Benefit of this Peace, is the *Ease and Security of Travel and Traffick*: An Happiness never understood since the *Roman Empire* has been broken into so many *Sovereignities*. But we may easily conceive the Comfort and Advantage of travelling through the Governments of *Europe* by a *Pass* from any of the *Sovereignities* of it, which this League and State of Peace will naturally make *Authentick*: They that have travel'd *Germany*, where is so great a Number of *Sovereignities*, know the Want and Value of this Privilege, by the many *Stops and Examinations* they meet with by the Way: But especially such as have made the *great Tour of Europe*. This leads to the Benefit of an *Universal Monarchy*, without the Inconveniencies that attend it: For when the whole was one *Empire*, tho' these Advantages were enjoyed, yet the several Provinces, that now make the *Kingdoms and States of Europe*, were under some Hardship from the great Sums of *Money* remitted to the Imperial Seat, and the Ambition and Avarice of their several *Pro-consuls* and *Governours*, and the great *Taxes* they paid to the *Numerous Legions of Soldiers*, that they maintained for their own Subjection, who were not wont to entertain that Concern for them (being uncertainly there, and having their Fortunes to make) which their respective and proper *Sovereigns* have always shown for them. So that to be *Ruled by Native Princes or States*, with the Advantage of that Peace and Security that can only render an *Universal Monarchy* desirable, is peculiar to our Proposal, and for that Reason it is to be preferred.

Another Advantage is, *The Great Security it will be to Christians against the Inroads of the Turk, in their most Prosperous Fortune.* For it had been impossible for the *Port*, to have prevailed so often, and so far from *Christendom*, but by the Carelessness, or Wilful Connivence, if not Aid, of some *Christian Princes*. And for the same Reason, why no *Christian Monarch* will adventure to oppose, or break such an Union, the *Grand Seignior* will find himself obliged to concur, for the Security of what he holds in *Europe*: Where, with all his Strength, he would feel it an Over-Match for him. *The Prayers, Tears, Treason, Blood and Devastation, that War has cost in Christendom, for these Two last Ages especially, must add to the Credit of our Proposal, and the Blessing of the Peace thereby humbly recommended.*

The Seventh Advantage of an *European, Imperial Dyet, Parliament, or Estates*, is, *That it will beget and increase Personal Friendship between Princes and States*, which tends to the Rooting up of Wars, and Planting Peace in a Deep and Fruitful Soil. For Princes have the Curiosity of seeing the Courts and Cities of other Countries, as well as Private Men, if they could as securely and familiarly gratify their Inclinations. It were a great Motive to the Tranquility of the World, *That they could freely Converse Face to Face, and Personally and Reciprocally Give and Receive Marks of Civility and Kindness.* An *Hospitality* that leaves these Impressions behind it, will hardly let Ordinary Matters prevail, to Mistake or Quarrel one another. Their *Emulation* would be in the *Instances of Goodness, Laws, Customs, Learning, Arts, Buildings*; and in particular those that relate to *Charity*, the True Glory of some Governments, where Beggars are as much a Rarity, as in other Places it would be to see none.

Nor is this all the Benefit that would come by this *Freedom and Interview of Princes*: For *Natural Affection* would hereby be preserved, which we see little better than lost, *from the Time their Children, or Sisters, are Married into Other Courts.* For the present State and Insincerity of Princes forbid them the Enjoyment of that Natural Comfort which is possess'd by Private Families: Insomuch,

that from the Time a Daughter, or Sister is Married to another Crown, Nature is submitted to Interest, and that, for the most Part, grounded not upon Solid or Commendable Foundations, but *Ambition*, or *Unjust Avarice*. I say, this Freedom, that is the Effect of our Pacifick Proposal, restores *Nature* to Her Just Right and Dignity in the Families of Princes, and them to the Comfort She brings, wherever She is preserved in Her proper Station. Here *Daughters* may Personally intreat their *Parents*, and *Sisters* their *Brothers*, for a good Understanding between them and their *Husbands*, where Nature, not crush'd by Absence, and Sinister Interests, but acting by the Sight and Lively Entreaties of such near Relations, is almost sure to prevail. They cannot easily resist the most affectionate Addresses of such powerful Solicitors, as their *Children*, and *Grand-Children*, and their *Sisters*, *Nephews*, and *Nieces*: And so backward from *Children* to *Parents*, and *Sisters* to *Brothers*, to keep up and preserve their own Families, by a good Understanding between their *Husbands* and them.

To conclude this Section, there is yet another Manifest Privilege that follows this *Intercourse* and Good Understanding, which methinks should be very moving with Princes, viz. *That hereby they may chuse Wives for themselves*, such as they Love, and not by *Proxy* meerly to gratify Interest; an ignoble Motive; and that rarely begets, or continues that *Kindness* which ought to be between Men and their Wives. A Satisfaction very few Princes ever knew, and to which all other Pleasures ought to resign. Which has often obliged me to think, *That the Advantage of Private Men upon Princes, by Family Comforts, is a sufficient Ballance against their Greater Power and Glory: The one being more in Imagination, than Real; and often Unlawful; but the other, Natural, Solid, and Commendable.* Besides, it is certain, Parents Loving Well before they are Married, which very rarely happens to Princes, *has Kind and Generous Influences upon their Offspring: Which, with their Example, makes them better Husbands, and Wives, in their Turn.* This, in great Measure, prevents Unlawful Love, and the Mischiefs of those Intrigues that are wont to

follow them: What *Hatred, Feuds, Wars, and Desolations* have, in divers *Ages*, flown from *Unkindness* between *Princes and their Wives*? What *Unnatural Divisions* among their *Children*, and *Ruin* to their *Families*, if not *Loss of their Countries* by it? Behold an Expedient to prevent it, a Natural and Efficacious One: Happy to Princes, and Happy to their People also. For Nature being renewed and strengthened by these Mutual Pledges and Endearments, I have mentioned, will leave those soft and kind Impressions behind in the Minds of Princes that *Court and Country* will very easily discern and feel the Good Effects of: Especially if they have the Wisdom to show that they Interest themselves in the Prosperity of the Children and Relations of their Princes. For it does not only incline them to be Good, but engage those Relations to become Powerful Suitors to their Princes for them, if any Misunderstanding should unhappily arise between them and their *Sovereigns*: Thus ends this *Section*. It now rests to conclude the Discourse, in which, if I have not pleased my *Reader*, or answered his Expectation, it is some Comfort to me I meant well, and have cost him but little Money and Time; and Brevity is an Excuse, if not a Virtue, where the Subject is not agreeable, or is but ill prosecuted.

THE CONCLUSION.

I Will conclude this *my Proposal of an European, Sovereign, or Imperial Dyet, Parliament, or Estates*, with that which I have touch'd upon before, and which falls under the Notice of every One concerned, by coming Home to their Particular and Respective Experience within their own *Sovereignities*. That by the same *Rules of Justice and Prudence*, by which Parents and Masters Govern their Families, and Magistrates their Cities, and Estates their Republicks, and Princes and Kings their Principalities and Kingdoms, *Europe* may obtain and Preserve *Peace among Her Sovereignities*. For Wars are the *Duels of Princes*; and as Government in Kingdoms and States, Prevents Men being Judges and Executioners for themselves, over-rules Private Passions as to Injuries or Revenge, and subjects the Great as well as the Small to the *Rule of Justice*, that Power might not vanquish or

oppress Right, nor one Neighbour act an *Independency* and *Sovereignty* upon another, while they have resigned that Original Claim to the Benefit and Comfort of Society; so this being soberly weighed in the Whole, and Parts of it, it will not be hard to conceive or frame, nor yet to execute the Design I have here proposed.

And for the better understanding and perfecting of the *Idea*, I here present to the *Sovereign Princes and Estates of Europe*, for the Safety and Tranquility of it, I must recommend to their Perusals *Sir William Temple's Account of the United Provinces*; which is an Instance and Answer, upon *Practice*, to all the Objections that can be advanced against the Practicability of my Proposal: Nay, it is an Experiment that not only comes to our Case, but exceeds the Difficulties that can render its Accomplishment disputable. For there we shall find *Three Degrees of Sovereignities to make up every Sovereignty in the General States*. I will reckon them backwards: First, *The States General themselves*; then the *Immediate Sovereignities* that constitute them, which are those of the *Provinces*, answerable to the *Sovereignities of Europe*, that by their *Deputies* are to compose the *European Dyet, Parliament or Estates* in our Proposal: And then there are the several Cities of each *Province*, that are so many *Independent or Distinct Sovereignities*, which compose those of the *Provinces*, as those of the *Provinces* do compose the *States General* at the *Hague*.

But I confess I have the Passion to wish heartily, that the Honour of Proposing and Effecting so Great and Good a Design, might be owing to *England*, of all the Countries in *Europe*, as something of the Nature of our Expedient was, in Design and Preparation, to the Wisdom, Justice, and Valour, of *Henry the Fourth of France*, whose Superior Qualities raising his Character above those of His Ancestors, or Contemporaries, deservedly gave Him the Stile of *Henry the Great*. For *He was upon obliging the Princes and Estates of Europe to a Political Ballance*, when the *Spanish Faction*, for that Reason, contrived, and accomplished *His Murder*, by the Hands of *Ravilliac*. I will not then fear to be censured, for proposing an *Expedient* for the Present and Future Peace

of Europe, when it was not only the *Design*, but *Glory of One of the Greatest Princes that ever reigned in it*; and is found Practicable in the Constitution of one of the Wisest and Powersfullest States of it. So that to conclude, I have very Little to answer for in all this Affair; because, if it succeed, I have so Little to deserve: For this *Great King's Example* tells us it is fit to be done; and Sir William Temple's *History* shews us, by a Surpassing Instance, *That it may be done*; and *Europe*, by her Incomparable Miseries, makes it now *Necessary to be done*: That my Share is only thinking of it at this Juncture, and putting it into the Common Light for the Peace and Prosperity of *Europe*.

